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INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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COUNTRY USSR

REPORT

SUBJECT Comments on Soviet Internal and External Problems

DATE DISTR. 17 June 1957

NO. PAGES 1

REQUIREMENT NO. RD

REFERENCES

50X1-HUM

DATE OF INFO.

PLACE & DATE ACQ.

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SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

A 20 page report on Soviet internal and external problems

covered are: the events in Poland and Hungary, Khrushchev's secret speech and the reasons for making it known to Party members, the Soviet leadership, light versus heavy industry, living conditions in the Soviet Union, Woolli-ganism, and the position of the intelligentsia.

Among the subjects

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STATE	X	ARMY	X	NAVY	X	AIR	X	FBI		AEC				
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The Soviet press does not reflect the actual situation in Hungary. Those who have no chance of reading anything but the Soviet newspapers will, of course, think that this is some small local incident, to which they will attach no importance. Those, however, who have the possibility of listening to the radio will have additional information apart from Soviet information, and these naturally will realize that our soldiers are at present compelled to act as hangmen of the Hungarian people. [redacted] this will only increase their indignation at the terror of Soviet government.

[redacted] every Soviet citizen who knows about the insurrection in Hungary must and will deeply sympathize with the Hungarians. [redacted] if they were able, they would take an active part in assisting them. It's only because of the Iron Curtain that they can do nothing. But if they had a chance, [redacted] all [redacted] people would volunteer to go there.

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[redacted] Hungary has no connection whatever with the Soviet Union. This is an independent country which must have the possibility of electing its own government. What right have the Soviet troops to be in Hungary 11 years after the end of the war? And the extent of the insurrection, the going over of the whole Hungarian army to the side of the insurgents--all this goes to show that it's really an uprising of the whole nation.

[redacted] The Hungarian people have revolted. If this revolution is suppressed by Soviet armed forces, if it is drowned in blood, then the strength of the Hungarian people will be drowned as well, and after this there will only be a reaction in the Soviet empire. And this will naturally aggravate the position of the peoples both in East Europe and in the Soviet Union. [redacted] it strange and incomprehensible that the free world is simply looking on and sympathizing when the Hungarian people are being oppressed and

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is encircled by Soviet troops on two sides--the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany and the armed forces in the Soviet Union.

[redacted] Poland would probably not be able to resist such a powerful army. And to my mind his policy may indeed be very clever--he is gradually democratizing the country, and within six months or a year he will demand in the name of the whole people in a more or less loyal form that the troops be removed, say by placing at their disposal a kind of Danzig corridor as a connection with the occupation forces; and when the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Poland, he can easily follow Tito's example and make the country completely independent, since Soviet troops will no longer be stationed there. It is quite possible that this will be the case. But, on the other hand, it is just as possible that he will remain a follower of Communism as Georgiu-Dej (Sp.?) is in Rumania.

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Finland was a free country, there were no Soviet troops there, no Soviet terror, nor was there a treacherous government of the Ferenc* Nagy kind. If Ferenc* Nagy had not summoned the Soviet troops, they would have had no formal pretext to intervene, they would have had no legal right to intervene; the betrayal of this one person has led to such a catastrophe. If he had not done so, the Soviet troops would not have started, and we would have now a free Hungary.

[redacted]

If he had been a real Hungarian, he would have preferred to have died himself to having thousands of his fellow-countrymen, his fellow-citizens, killed.

[redacted]

he agreed in some form or other. And if he had not wished to agree, he would not have agreed, even under the pressure of the Soviet troops. Therefore, it really does not matter very much whether he agreed under the pressure of the Soviet troops, or whether he agreed on his own. The important thing is that he decided to drown the Hungarian nation in blood to save his own skin.

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[redacted] internal problems of the Soviet

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Union: [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] there are still four basic deficiencies that affect the widest circles of the population. There is, first, the fear of terror.

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[redacted] Perhaps it has declined somewhat in the hope that there is some semblance of legality, without the mockery and the tortures which existed formerly; but everyone knows that open trials do not exist in [redacted] even today. Political enemies are not sentenced; they simply disappear. This is terror and uncertainty, since everyone knows that he can be tried at any moment and that he will not be allowed to prove whether or not he is guilty. The fear of terror is still oppressing the people daily. The second point is the consciousness of the people that millions of Russian citizens are suffering in the camps and in prisons, and that the families who have been deprived of their breadwinners, of their fathers, their husbands--and this applies to every third person--are suffering; therefore, the people as a whole know of the sufferings of these millions. And then there is the systematic hunger in the country. Only in the big cities, such as Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, are there goods in the stores. In the provinces the shops are practically empty. On the markets everything is three times as expensive as the official prices. Even if we take Moscow and Leningrad, the wages of the workers and the working intelligentsia are so much below the living minimum that people are either half-starving or really starving. And if people are lacking foodstuffs even, they are lacking everything else too--they have no money to buy clothing, no money to buy furniture, no money for amusement, and none for other human requirements. And this not one year, not temporarily, but for the whole life of our generation. Thirty-eight years of the Soviet regime mean 38 years of starvation, 38 years of penury, and 38 years of terror. The second deficiency, therefore, is poverty, poverty, half-starvation, the most wretched life. And the next thing that is most unpleasant, unpleasant on a large scale, is the vast decline of the cultural standard in the country since the war: drunkenness of the masses, hooliganism, dirt and devastation in the cities, the acute housing crisis--conditions which are not in keeping

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with the concept of human dignity. A decent farmer's pigs live under better conditions than our peasants and workers do. These are the main problems which worry our people. And, of course, also the consciousness, a very humiliating consciousness, of the cynical Soviet propaganda which it is impossible to oppose in any way. What people are reading in the newspapers and hearing over the radio is in complete contradiction with reality. If, let us say, people are forced to subscribe to the loan and later hear over the radio and from the newspapers that they rejoiced when they subscribed; if people are starving and read in the newspapers that they are happy, such cynical falsehoods are insulting, because the impression is created that the government considers the people to be either its slaves or idiots. Idiots who do not understand that black is not white, or slaves who hold their tongues whatever they are told. Not enough, therefore, that people are being oppressed, that they are tortured--they are also spat upon! This is absolutely intolerable.

[redacted] the reaction of the population to the resolutions of the 20th Congress?

At the 20th Congress there was only Khrushchev's speech.

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[redacted] At first only the active Party members were acquainted with it, then the Party members, and then the active industrialists and labor unionists. And then, of course, all these people told all the others, so that now the whole population knows about it. And the general opinion is that not even Goebbels would have succeeded in compiling such an anti-Soviet document, such anti-Soviet propaganda, as did Khrushchev. First, it was announced by the first secretary himself, so that no one could suspect some element...Second, the modest facts, the thousandth part of truth depicted in his speech, vividly reveal the Communist Party as a group of murderers, as a gang of sadists.

In his speech he touches only upon Stalin's crimes toward the Party leadership and the highest Party leadership. He is speaking of the individual Party members, of the commanders. There is not one word in Khrushchev's speech about the million victims among the common people; not a word about the peasants who were tortured in the camps during the collectivization period; nothing about the many millions of intellectuals and workers who suffered during the terror in Yagoda's and in Yeshov's eras.; nothing about Stalin's crimes and those of the Soviet government in the field of foreign policy. The facts cited in Khrushchev's speech, even concerning the Party and Soviet leaders, are horrible in their inhumanity. For example, he cites the instance with Eikhe, the Bolshevik leader in the Far East. He wrote Stalin from prison that he was being unmercifully beaten, that he was being

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tortured, and that he was not guilty--and his letter was simply thrown away. And then the Leningrad affair, the doctors' case, etc.--which proved that during the entire Soviet history any crimes against people were possible. A child will understand that this cannot be the result of one man's actions, and that he was actively assisted by all his colleagues. Second, since this was possible, it was tolerated by the entire system, and therefore, the uncontrolled one-Party system engenders the possibilities of abuse of power, all kinds of violence. But even since Khrushchev's speech nothing has changed in this system--this was also realized by every listener; take, for instance, Beria's liquidation. [] assume that Beria was guilty of all the crimes and that he was the greatest scoundrel. However, after they decided to put an end to lawlessness, they should have, it would seem, held an open trial, tried Beria in court, provided him with a defense counsel, allowed the public to be present, called witnesses--this would have been a proper trial. But if a person is arrested and shot somewhere in the torture-chamber, and then the execution is made known, this is the same kind of reprisal, the same torture-chamber, for which the Stalin regime is now being criticized. And later events have shown that the system has in no way been altered, because discussion of this speech was not even allowed within the Party organizations; the speech was merely read, because it was found at the very first reading that the Communists began to criticize and to ask important questions such as: "And where were you--the speaker and his fellows?" "And what has been changed in the system? Where is the guarantee that this will not occur again?" Those who began to ask these questions were thrown out of the Party and put in jail; and all further discussions were forbidden. It became clear to everyone, therefore, that according to the admission of the Communists themselves, the worst terror, lawlessness and arbitrariness were raging in the Soviet state, and that all this--the result of the Soviet system--remained as it had been; the system itself had undergone no changes. Everyone knows that even today there are no open trials of political enemies [] so that everyone who is of a different opinion may be arrested at any moment and thrown into jail. Khrushchev's speech has therefore opened the eyes of that possibly small number of Soviet citizens who were alive enough to think, having had no experience of their own, that the tales of Soviet terror were perhaps exaggerated, and that perhaps all this was not true. Now everyone believed this. And these who knew were filled with particular indignation at the cheek of all this and at the cheek of Stalin's heirs who, having declared him to be a criminal, themselves continued on the same path. This considerably increased the indignation among the population as a whole.

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[redacted] When the entire demagoguery was directed toward the glorification of the Soviet regime, a number of people may have been misled, and the others gagged. But now that the Soviet system had been exposed, the people began to think and to act in this direction. and the truth is that there can be no semi-freedom; either there is terror, when people are forced to keep quiet by being terrorized; but if they have been told the truth, or at least questions of truth have been touched upon, they cannot be stopped--there must be either freedom or slavery. And this is why the dictators will now, especially after the Hungarian events, be obliged to take the path of democratization or to create a new Stalin. But to take the path of democratization would mean for them to find themselves on the gallows. This is why I think that they will prefer to create a new Stalin, and that they will do so at an early date.

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[redacted] the crimes during the Stalin era were so numerous that they were burdening and pulling down all his successors; crimes both within the country and without; and that, by assuming power, they at the same time assumed the responsibility for all these crimes...; that is, they inherited the hatred of the people, all the crimes committed in foreign policy which had caused the unification of the free countries and their armament--in other words, the stopping of potential further Soviet aggression. And this is why they had at first the primitive wish to make the dead dictator responsible for everything, as they had in the past blamed some scapegoat, some small fry, for everything. Naturally they did not dare do so immediately, they only did it three years after his death. They therefore had assumed that by laying all the blame at his door, they themselves would be clean and would remain in power. But they probably anticipated the effect this would have on the people, and this is why they evidently decided to restrict the knowledge at first to the Party top command, so as to find the support of the high-ranking Party aristocracy; probably they intended to read the speech at the 20th Congress only. But it turned out that numerous foreign delegations were present, and for some reason or other rumors began to spread among the people. These rumors were even more dangerous than the speech itself, because when they were spread, the rumors were interpreted in

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various ways, and it was already even said that Stalin had been proclaimed the enemy of the people and similar distortions, so that the rumors became more dangerous than a simple speech to all the people. This is why it was decided to bring the shorthand report to the notice of the Party members. But Party members also belong to families, have their friends, etc., so that in actual fact the speech became known to the whole population. And the effect was evidently a complete surprise to Khrushchev. This was evidently assisted by the fact that Khrushchev is certainly not a clever person, and he had failed to foresee what consequences this might have. There is no doubt that the negative consequences of the speech are many times worse than its positive consequences. It is hardly to be expected that he himself had decided to do the Communist Party such harm, which certifies to his shortsightedness and his lack of insight.

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At the beginning, say, during the first week or two, the Party members really took this to mean that broad criticism of all the Party's errors was now admitted. This, of course, was the height of naivete. Knowing the Soviet regime for what it is, it's difficult to understand how they could think so. Well, people began to criticize, saying that the reason for everything was not Stalin, not individual events, but the one-Party dictatorship; that the one-Party dictatorship engenders a one-man dictatorship, and this engenders terror; and the terror of the dictatorship engenders all crimes. This was the trend of their questions. And then questions, ...questions leading to the one thought: And where were you? where were your assistants? And didn't you become his assistants simply by actively aiding and

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shooting him in everything. This was, of course, a blow to the Party's prestige, and naturally all this criticism was stopped.

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Immediately the magazines Kommunist, Party Life, etc., started writing withering articles, saying that they were bourgeois degenerates, hostile, anti-Soviet people who took advantage of criticism for anti-Soviet aims, etc. And there were other means, of which you know nothing.

Bulganin

There are many contradictory opinions. He is not too well known, but opinions differ. Many say on the basis of his biography that he is an "upstart"; that he has for many years belonged to the NKVD and that he wears his general's uniform only as a Party worker. This produces the worst possible impression, that is, the fact that a person worked for many years in the NKVD and was promoted only on the strength of Party demagee and not for his fighting or working merits; this, naturally, is characteristic of the person.

First, one must make allowance for the fact that he is an old man, that he is about 70 years of age. This is why he cannot play any particular role any longer. It is known what Stalin said about him in 1945 when Tito visited Russia. In Molotov's presence Stalin said: "Look at this person, his brain is as ossified as the expression of his face." Stalin, of course, must have known what his assistants were like.

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There are different opinions about Zhukov. Many place their hopes on him because he has been a soldier, because he has fought honestly and therefore must be an honest person, that is, a person who understands the real needs of the people, and cannot therefore be a genuine Communist at heart. But at the same time Zhukov's speeches, say, at reviews, do not produce a pleasant impression. This is why one may take it that Zhukov has simply decided to protect his own career to the detriment of the interests of the people. It's possible, though, that he is at present acting under compulsion; and that his real nature will show at some later date. This would, of course, be very important and very valuable, because the army is the most organized part of the people, which could indeed oppose the government in an organized manner.

the isolated action of one person or of a small group cannot have the slightest result of any importance, and would mean nothing but suicide, because resistance against the general party line is considered a heinous crime. Therefore, if anyone were to say anything against it, this would be of no use whatsoever for the nation, while the people in question would perish.

The Yerevan events began, as rumor has it, for nationalist reasons and only later turned into anti-Soviet demonstrations.

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It began with a soccer match; a Russian team had come there, and there was some misunderstanding. First there were attacks on the Russians, and then it became an anti-Soviet movement and finished with barricades and armed resistance.

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There are lots of political anecdotes which are quickly made up. Let us say that some event or other takes place, for instance, the Khrushchev-Bulganin visit to London. A few days later there are anecdotes circulating about them. A week or two later there are very good anecdotes.

For example, after Khrushchev's and Bulganin's stay in London? Eden asks Khrushchev how he succeeds in making people subscribe to the state loan so quickly and for such substantial amounts, saying that in England people are not so willing. Khrushchev says: "You simply do not know the proper approach. Here, for instance, is your dog. Does it eat mustard?" Eden: "For goodness' sake, no. It doesn't eat cake even." "But I shall make it eat mustard," says Bulganin. He takes some mustard, rubs it under the dog's tail, and the dog immediately licks it off. "This," he says, "is how our people subscribe to the loan."

Eden is then asked by Bulganin: "How do your people live, the workers?" And Eden tells them: "Our workers spend one quarter of their wages on food, one quarter on purchases, one quarter on amusement." "And the last quarter?" "Well, that's their own affair. Our government doesn't interfere in their private affairs. And how does your worker live?" "Our people can live a whole week on their monthly salary." "And what about the remaining time, how do they live then?" "With us this is their private affair. Our government doesn't interfere in private affairs either."

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[redacted] one can say openly now that [redacted] wages are low, [redacted] that everything is very expensive [redacted] that [redacted] production is in a poor state; and that everything is badly organized. Formerly it was absolutely impossible to say these things; it might have been considered anti-Soviet. But now these things are openly discussed. The only thing that must not be criticized is policy.

[redacted]

[redacted] The people naturally greatly desire freedom; and because of this, as you know, the wish is always taken for reality. The people naturally wish to live to see the realization of their desire. But the fact is that the people who are pondering more or less deeply, realize that the system cannot change its spots, just as the wolf cannot become a vegetarian, much as he may wish to, otherwise he would cease to be a wolf; by the same token the

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possible to nominate deputies freely, not a single Communist would be elected. On the contrary, in that case all the Communists would be prosecuted for the crimes they perpetrated. This is the reason why there can be no real democracy. And there must, therefore, always exist some coercion so as to stifle any striving for such a democracy. In other words, the dictatorship will remain; possibly economic problems will find a better solution, again, however, only in order to strengthen the position of the dictatorship.

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Everyone realizes, naturally, that nothing will change if he expresses his opinion among his friends; besides, he may be denounced.

there are no meeting halls or places where one could speak to a large number of people...only among a small number of colleagues or friends.

People hope that gradually something may happen. Older people or people who know life better have a clear idea.

the reforms which are really needed in the interests of the country cannot be carried out by the Communist Party, otherwise it would no longer be a Communist Party. [redacted] the dictators will not care to commit suicide. What reforms are really needed? To stop the armament race; to stop preparing for war and to produce goods the population is in need of; to disband the kolхозes, to distribute the land among the peasants--and within a year there would be an abundance of agricultural products. As a result of such economic measures the country would flourish in two or three years, and the people would be content. But if they did this, they would not be Communists.

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In the field of industry [redacted] it would only be necessary--under Soviet conditions--to produce the goods which are really needed for national economy instead of going in for an armament race. Of course, the Soviet system suffers from enormous industrial shortcomings, which lower the productivity by several times as compared with the same kind of production in the free countries. The exceedingly cumbersome bureaucratic system, the sluggishness, the planning on paper out of keeping with the real requirements and possibilities--all this, naturally, reduces considerably the efficiency of industry. But under Soviet conditions it is, of course, absolutely impossible to abolish this system.

Under the Soviet regime the only thing that could be realized is what Malenkov, for instance, began: putting a stop to the race of heavy industry and the armament industry and devoting a considerable part of the means of production to the development of the branches of industry that are needed for the population.

the organisation of industry [redacted]

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[redacted], nothing can be done in that direction under the Soviet system. This would be something like the concert described by old man Krylov in his fable, where the monkey, the goat and the clumsy bear changed places. In the same way all our associations, ministries, ministerial departments, change of names--all this is futile and, to all intents and purposes, alters nothing.

[redacted] trade and light industry cannot do without private initiative.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

the overwhelming majority of the people understand very well that a very flexible system is needed in the light and food industry and in trade, a system which can speedily and sensitively respond to the demand by the population, to the changes of fashion, the seasons and territorial variations in such a large country, as the Soviet Union, while the planning system is unwieldy and bureaucratic and cannot be flexible enough! Just look: in a normal country there are thousands and thousands of different names to designate consumer goods on sale. Competition is needed here! If a state factory makes furniture, it manufactures only one certain type of furniture, and this of poor quality. Why? Because this factory is a state factory and is only interested in a large output, in fulfilling its plan. Here competition is needed, quick changes, a variety of manufactured articles.

The situation in heavy industry is quite different. It is necessary to produce steel to make cast iron. This is something constant which does not depend on the demand of the population or on the people's tastes; it does not change. Railroads do not depend on anything. In large-scale industries, in heavy industry, especially in such branches which are important for the defense of the country, for the security of the working people, say, such as mines and railroads, the state control is of course necessary, as well as the power of the state.

And as for consumer-goods production, it is precisely flexibility, sensitiveness, competition and an individual approach that are necessary; here nothing can be planned! And this is [redacted] clear to everybody. Why is it that all through [redacted] country there are only two or three types of furniture, two or three types of suits, and all these are so shabby and poor? Because a state-controlled factory cannot react to the tastes and demands of the population, as far as their personal needs are concerned. Therefore, everything that caters to the personal needs of the people should be in private hands; everything that satisfies the needs of the whole country, such as railroads, the metal industry, pits and coal mines--should be state-owned.

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[redacted]

[redacted] forty years of the Soviet rule [redacted] killed everyone's personal interest in his work! If a person really feels that he is getting a share of the profits, that he is a partner in his factory, if he has something in addition to his wages, this is a great incentive in his work! [redacted] this would really be something like "people's capitalism" or "solidarity," that is when there is no wall [redacted]

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division, say, between a manufacturer and a worker. One has a larger share, another a smaller one, but both are partners in the same undertaking. This is very useful!

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only people who have not lived in the Soviet Union, who do not realize what a Communist regime is

can believe that the Soviet regime can give even a small degree of satisfaction to the people! The Communist dictatorship and the people--these are the two entirely unreconcilable elements! Absolutely unreconcilable! It is therefore necessary to grasp the following: if we talk about reforms, about gradual satisfaction of the people's needs, we are simply deceiving the people! This would create the impression that the Soviet regime could really be in conformity with the people's interests. The Soviet regime is anti-democratic by its very nature, it is anti-human! Therefore the only course that can be considered is the opposite one: it is necessary to prove to the people that they have nothing to expect from the Soviet government but suffering, terror, starvation and poverty--just as it has been during the past 39 years it will continue in the coming 39 years, if the regime lasts. That it is time to begin finally the struggle for freedom!

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[redacted] the people in the country, naturally, do not realize what is going on on the very top, they know even less than is known in the West, because there is a certain system of information in the West, whereas in the Soviet Union the people are completely deprived of any truthful information. The people do not have any clear conception of what is going on on the top. But one thing is clear: a man is just a man, and a human being, especially a man who has made it his goal to achieve his personal and vile aims by any means whatsoever--that is the type of the Kremlin rulers--the people who are striving to achieve power for the sake of power at the cost of the suffering of countless people. These are the people for whom their personal career is an end in itself. And therefore, if there are 11 or 13 persons who are in power, doubtlessly each one will try to become the first, and only on these grounds [redacted] can there be discord among them, since every one of them will aspire to become a new dictator, while the rest will try to check him or create different groups. And as for any groups from the point of view of any profound policy, say, that some would be promoting the policy in conformity with the people's interests, while others would be against it [redacted] no such differences on principle are possible among them. They are all one clique, one gang, and their only interest is not to lose power, and the only differences they may have would be about grabbing the power first, since each of them is, of course, interested in getting on top of the others.

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[redacted] The conditions of daily life can also be considered from different aspects. [redacted] it can be food supply, it can be housing conditions, it can be cultural life--these are several different aspects. [redacted] therefore, [redacted] condition of food supplies, the situation after 1949-50 has actually become worse. There's no doubt about it! I remember that in 1949 and in 1948 fruit and vegetables, for example, could be bought freely in state-owned stores almost the whole year round. It was also easier in regard to dairy products, for example. You could buy apples and grapes in the stores the whole year round. And during recent years fruit, for instance, has almost disappeared from sale, it can be bought only for one and one half to two months a year at the height of the season. The possibilities of buying food-stuffs in the stores have also decreased; even in Moscow, say, sausages are seldom on sale. Well, I didn't visit Moscow often,

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and in the provinces, even in the Donbas there are very little basic foodstuffs on sale in the stores, and even these are available only on rare occasions.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the Donbas is in a privileged position.

[REDACTED]

the following items on sale in the stores: salt, matches, vodka, vinegar, coffee...

[REDACTED]

Rye bread. This is the list of products which are on sale in the stores. And such things as butter, sugar, meat, sausages are not for sale in most cities, and if they do appear, this happens very seldom and then for about an hour, and there are enormous lines.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Chinese shirts have appeared during recent years in considerable quantities.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] they were a sort of poplin shirts.

[REDACTED]

There were Hungarian suits and Czech footwear.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] footwear is not bad at all. There is only one drawback: a pair of good shoes costs 350 rubles, which represents approximately the monthly wages of an average worker...

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] There is no hidden ration-card system! There is practically no limit to the amount of food which can be sold to one person. Nobody prevents a person from coming several times and buying what he wants. It has the nature of mere formality...

From a cultural aspect the post-war situation has deteriorated disastrously. There has never been so much drinking, such hooliganism and such neglect for housing conditions as there is at the present time. And it is becoming worse every year, which is distinctly noticeable.

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] go out in the street, say early in the morning before work, especially in factory districts, [redacted] observe whole crowds of ragged people dressed like beggars, who are standing near wine stores and drinking vodka in the street right from the bottle.

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[redacted]
[redacted] this is by no means an expression of protest. This is the result of the material conditions of life; material and, evidently, also moral. This means that life is so miserable, so deprived of any prospects of anything better that people of weak will and inferior mentality escape into a state of drunkenness as a means to forget, at least for an hour or two, that misery which surrounds them. Take into consideration that housing conditions are very poor: a person comes home, and what does he see there? It is crowded, dirty, and there is not enough food; in order to escape from this, to forget, he goes to a beer-hall and gets drunk.

[redacted] the attitude of the younger generation toward the Soviet regime at the present [redacted]
[redacted]

The greater part are Komsomol members, but their being in possession of Komsomol membership cards is a mere formality, simply because they were compelled to join while they were studying at an institute, or they join when they are 16 or 17 and don't understand much yet, and two or three years later they begin to understand things, but then there is no way of getting rid of the membership card. The majority of the Komsomol youth see life, of course, as it is, and naturally any normal person believes more what he sees for himself than what the papers say. He has a notion now as to how human beings should be living [redacted]

[redacted] the simple aspiration for truth [redacted] is widespread among the youth and which manifests itself, for instance, in verbal protests, in demands. That is, when people begin to demand something

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[redacted]

and to prove it, they say: "But this is not just; it is not right!" The people's aspiration for truth, for justice is, of course, very keenly felt among the youth.

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[redacted]

[redacted] there is nothing in common between the technical and the Party intelligentsia! First of all, the Party intelligentsia cannot be called intelligentsia! The word "intelligentsia" is derived from the word intellect! And to be a Party worker [redacted] - no intellect is needed! They simply cannot be called so. They can be called Party functionaries, Party bureaucracy, Party officialdom, but not intelligentsia! Intelligentsia can be only technical or humanitarian, but it must be in any case--intelligentsia.

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[redacted]

[redacted] the technical intelligentsia [redacted] is 99% anti-Soviet, but every specialist is a specialist. And a specialist cannot work badly, cannot want to work badly. A specialist, therefore, when he does his work, does it well, because he must work to earn his living and be able to live. And if a person is working, this means he is compelled to work; every specialist has professional ambition and loves his work.

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[redacted]

[redacted] The technical intelligentsia is the working people, the same as peasants, same as workers, the only difference being that the technical intelligentsia naturally realizes better the causes of our people's condition; it realizes possible prospects. Of course, it seems to me that the intelligentsia always had in the past, and will have in future, the leading role

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among the people; it has to be, say, a "guide" going ahead of the people. Of course the foundation of the nation is the working class and the peasantry--this is the foundation! But the intelligentsia after all, is the brain of the people.

Their number is very large at present--there are 5,000,000 people with college and technical education!

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But it should be taken into consideration that the technical intelligentsia, just as well as all the rest of the people, is forced to live under conditions of absolute terror and, therefore, no matter how many millions of intelligentsia there are, they cannot do anything against the KGB (Committee of State Security), since the KGB is an organized armed force, while intelligentsia represents separated people who cannot undertake anything.

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